1: Karsten--108-110 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 202, 534 (1928-29)

"The great signal drum (tunduí) of the Jibaros is among those objects which especially attract the attention of a visitor in a Indian house. It is made of a light kind of wood called shimúta and varies in length. The one brought home by me from the Aguarunas and now in the museum of Helsingfors measures 160 centimetres, including the handles, [109] and has a diameter of about 40 centimetres; the drum in the Gothenburg museum is a little smaller. The sound-holes are always of a serpent-like or curved form, and consist of four round holes connected with one another. The hollowing out of the trunk is tedious work and requires much skill and patience; it can only be done by means of fire, the burned [110] and carbonized parts of the wood being again and again scraped off with a snail's shell or an iron instrument until the cavity is sufficiently large. Since there is always the danger that the drum may not turn out sonorous enough, it is considered necessary that the Indian who makes it should diet for several days and observe other rules of abstinence. If, for instance, he drinks manioc-beer (nihamańchi) in the quantities normally consumed by a Jibaro Indian every day, the drum will be dull and not sonorous. His stomach must be empty, like an empty barrel. Similarly he must abstain from cohabiting with his wife during these days, for otherwise, it is believed, the drum will burst. When the drum is ready, all the grown-up men of the family assemble and a feast is arranged for the inauguration of the drum. Each man steps forward and beats the drum for a while in the slow time customary at the drinking of the narcotics natéma and maikoa."

Fig. 2. The signalling drum.

1: Karsten--110-111 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 534, 787 (1928-29)

"The tundui [JKM: signal drum] of the Jibaro Indians is not merely a signalling instrument in the ordinary sense of the word, but its greatest significance is religious: it is a means of communicating with the spiritual world. From this point of view I shall deal with this drum again in the chapters devoted to the religion of the Indians. Here I will only point out the interesting fact that the drum among other things is closely associated with the spirit (iguañchi) which appears in the shape of the great water boa or anaconda, and that the drum itself is supposed to be a representation of the great serpent. The very holes dug out of the drum, as I have said, form a snake-like figure and, moreover, the handles with which it is provided represent, respectively, the head and the tail of the dreaded reptile. Everybody who sees a real Jibaro drum in an ethnographic museum is able to note to what extent one of the handles is like a snake's head. [111]

I may add that these ideas are connected with the signalling drum among all Jibaro tribes and that the form of the drum is therefore everywhere the same. Of the drums in the museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, the one is from the Jibaros of the Chiguasa, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and the other from the Aguarunas in

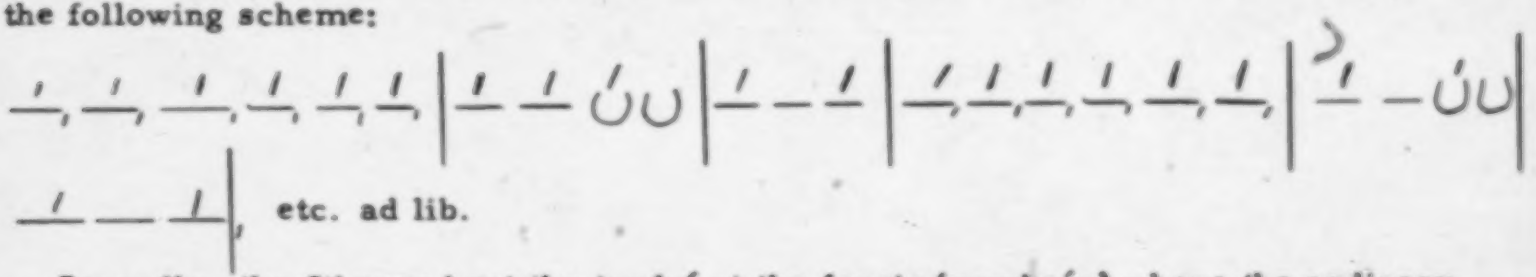
Peru, that is, they are from the northernmost and southernmost Jibaro tribes respectively; but still they are alike in all details. (1) "

"1. In Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru, p. 123, there is depicted a 'Jibaro Indian drum' which is without handles and with a sound-hole differing from that described by me above. I wish to point out, however, that this drum is not from the Jibaros, but probably from some of the Ucayali tribes. Since Farabee never visited the Jibaros his mistake is easy to understand."

1: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 533, 787 (1928-29)

"The drum is beaten with a club made of a heavy kind of wood. It is chiefly used on three occasions, and there are consequently three essentially different ways of 'signalling'.

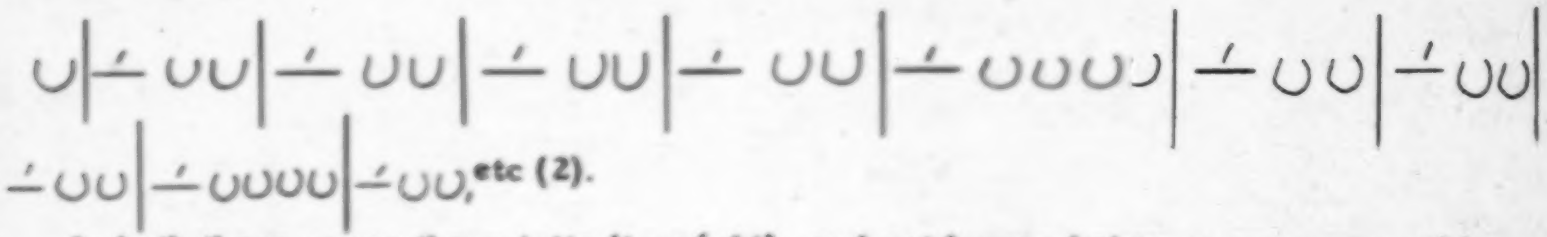
First, the tunduí is beaten at the feasts when the narcotics nateḿa or maikoa are ceremonially consumed. In this case the drumming is in very slow time, according to the following scheme:



etc. ad lib.

Secondly, the Jibaros beat the tunduí at the feasts (nambeŕa) where the ordinary manioc-beer (nihamańchi) or the beer made of the fruit of the chontaruŕu palm is ceremonially consumed. It is done according to the following scheme, where the first

feeble and short stroke has the character of an anacrusis:



etc (2).

In both these cases the spirits (iguańchi), and not human beings, are summoned by means of the tunduí. But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death s always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer the situation in the two

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"2. —in regard to its quantity = ∪∪ ; ∪∪ = ∪ ; ´ neans that the stroke is strongly accentuated."

events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--264 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 534, 722, 202 (1928-29)

"The big signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, also plays a part in the wars, although originally it seems to have been a purely religious instrument. At times when there is fear of an attack of enemies it is placed outside the house on the hill, and the beats may then be heard at a distance of several miles. The drum tundúi is beaten when the Jibaros drink the narcotics maikoa and natéma--in which case the object is to summon the spirits that inhabit these sacred drinks--also after a death, and lastly to give friends notice of an attack by enemies. In the latter case the signalling consists of a series of short and fast beats at a time which is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. When the friends in the other houses hear these beats they say: Pakinmawae, 'they are killing'. Hence this whole mode of signaling is called Pakinmawae. As soon as the inhabitants of a house get knowledge of or suspect the presence of enemies, and also during the attack, if there is time for it, they try by beating the tundúi to summon their friends for rescue, and the singalling may sometimes cause the enemy, fearing the arrival of help, to give up his evil intention and take flight."

2: Stirling- 60 [2]
116, 721, 202

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"When warned that they are to be attacked, the chief plays on the big telegraph drum in order to notify their friends and call them to their assistance. When the allies arrive from the other houses the little drum is played."

2: Stirling--92 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
202

"Trumpets are made from the shells of the giant land snail (pl. 37, g). These are used for signaling purposes and can scarcely be classed as true musical instruments."

3: Simson--387 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 202, 361

"The Jívaros practise a system of telegraphy, which has at all times been very dangerous to their adversaries in war, by giving strokes on the 'Tunduli,' a large drum, which is heard from house to house, and passed on from hill to hill. The houses are all over their territories at convenient distances for the purpose; and in this manner very varied information is conveyed in a few moments to all the families of hordes dispersed over a large extent of country. This was the greatest danger the Spaniards had to contend with, and is still a main source of protection to these Indians, as they can rouse large numbers at a moment's notice, and sound the alarm through entire hordes."

6: Flornoy--333 [2] (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 198, 202

The Jivaro language is named Suor by those who use it and Aoka by the neighboring peoples. It is spoken by both men and women, the latter use no other dialect among themselves.

I found neither a secret nor a religious language; their use appears unlikely to me. There will be found farther on, several invocations utilized by the medicine-men, who are at the same time sorcerers, no word of which seems to me to be reserved for this purpose alone.

Finally if there exists a drum language, it is yet to be discovered and identified.

These continual visits, in spite of the often considerable distance between houses, constitute the bond which unites the scattered members of the tribe. There is one other; the tunduli, that curious instrument whose presence I have noted in every habitation, the sound of which is heard for 15 kilometers around. The only comparison we could make would be to bells in our country. As they do, it announces death, joy or danger. It is by this means that an attacked Jívaro can demand aid and help from his allies. Even more, it constitutes a veritable telegraphic system. The spaces between the openings make different sounds when struck, and according to the interval between them on their tone, these sounds take on very precise meanings to the savage. Missionaries have noticed many times the incredible rapidity with which news travels by this means through impenetrable forests. The tunduli takes the place very well in the Jívaro country of the fires used by certain people (1).

1. Simson. op. cit., page 387. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--617 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361, 202

We have seen with what care the Indian hides his house in the deepest woods with no regular path to it, this placing having no other point except to multiply the difficulties for anyone coming to attack. The walls leave no opening by which anyone could introduce a lance. In every house big pots of water are always ready on boards resting on the roof beams, in order to put out fire quickly. The tunduli plays an essential role in these nocturnal attacks. It is the tocsin which, with incredible rapidity, calls the members of the tribe to the aid of the besieged.

13: Rivet--252 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 202

They have no system of writing.

20: Dyott--173
116, 202

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"As we sat on the banks of the Upano, listening to the words of wisdom that fell from Kuashu's lips, we heard the distant beat of a drum resounding harshly over the forest. It was not the low musical note, full and vibrant, but a peculiarly hard, penetrating noise, resembling the rapid blows of an axe on some fallen tree-trunk. The signal drum or tundai of the Jivaros is just a log of hard wood, carefully hollowed out by hand and slung between a couple of poles for support. It is beaten with a club and the sound emitted has remarkable carrying qualities. If anything of moment ever occurs in the locality, the news is spread from house to house through the medium of the tundai. It also plays a prominent part on all festive occasions.

Thump, thump, thump, came the precise beats with the regularity of so many dots and dashes of a Morse Code message, being broadcasted through the wilderness. Kuashu must have understood their import, for he got up, scratched his back and loosened the cincture of human hair that held his itipi (loin cloth) in place. Having readjusted the folds of his one and only garment, he suggested that we go and call on the neighbours to see what they were up to."

20: Dyott--173-174 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 202, 595, 574

"The house from which the sounds [KS: drum message] emanated belonged to a man, Kun-gupi by name, who was one of Kuashu's fathers-in-law. Seven months previously each of these men had felt the need of adding a new wife to his establishment--a little young blood to make up for the grey hairs of the older women, so they had solved the problem by swapping daughters and it was in this manner that the young and handsome Inza had become Kuashu's bride. [174]

As we drew near the edge of Kun-gupi's clearing, we announced our arrival in true Indian style by shouting lustily. Our call was promptly taken up, and several young braves came running down the path to greet us. Each carried his spear, more out of habit than anything else, though experience has taught them that such habits are worth cultivating. We were piloted through a dense banana patch, over countless obstructions, to a rather small house, planted on the hillside. One by one we squeezed in through the narrow door-way and there, in its cool interior, found ourselves as if in a bee-hive. It was simply swarming with brown figures and a constant buzz of conversation came from all quarters. We were offered stools to sit upon, and the usual niji-manchi was forthcoming; but when a large pin-inga (bowl) of the white liquid was passed over in our direction, both Johnson and myself waved it aside, as the method of preparing it was yet too fresh in our memory."

26: Brüning--74 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

A few words must be said about the túndui, the wireless telephone of the Aguarunas. It consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk, about 100-120 cm. long and of a thickness of 30-35 cm. At each end there is a handle, one of which is used to grab it, the other as a support on the ground, so that the instrument is free to vibrate. On top of the drum there are four holes in one direction. Originally, these holes may have been used to hollow out the trunk, in the end they help with the rēsonance. (See Illustration number 4.) They beat the instrument with a short stick which is wound with vegetarian wool at one end. The sound differs depending on whether the drum is hit from the side or at the top. The messages are conveyed, in the manner of our Morse system, by a combination of these two sound possibilities. If the air is quiet, one is able to hear the túndui at a distance of several kilometers. The message is transmitted from one place to the other by a process of interception and further transmission.

When we returned from our trip to Puerto Meléndez, our arrival was signalled with the help of the túndui from the houses along the bank to all the others so that when we arrived in Huaracayo, we found a large crowd assembled for our reception.

They have awooden signal drum (tundui). See Plate 59, Fig 1. It is a very functional instrument, sounding signals of warning and distress for a people that thrives on raids, war and murders. The drumstick is reproduced on Plate 59, Fig. 1a.

On festive ocasions they use as musical instrument a double-skin drum (tambún), which has a short or an oblong shape, as shown on Plate 68 and on Plate 59, Fig. 4, respectively. They beat the drum with a bone or, though less frequently, with a piece of wood. The drmstick is attached to the drum by means of a string. During their dance festivals the Jivaros wear rattles around their legs. They consist of plaited fiber strands; in shrt intervals thinner strings are braided into the fiber strands. The thin strings project with both ends to which the halves of fruit-shells are attached with knots. These shells rattle when they collide. See Plate 59, Fig. 5.

29: Vité--16 [2] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

While we were advancing through this region [KS: the jungle], at first confusedly and then very distinctly, we made out the echo of the beat of the "dúndulos", a kind of drum which the savages use to call to their neighbors with some fiesta in view.

31: Danielsson--89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 173, 202

"Indirect communication is very limited, consisting only of some few standardized messages circulated by the signal-drum to overcome distance in space, and of some orally preserved traditions to overcome distance in time."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[9]

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[10] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain curanderos). When a man dies he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his new arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party must secretly for an attack, the forest is soundlessly traversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambus come to support their friends, pursue the

14:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 [202] nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 [412] The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapiwisak* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 513 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 [951] [146] Each household has either a single large garden or several smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jivaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

love. A shaman who has had his *nemesak* taken away in this manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks *natema*. The sudden loss of his *nemesak* will tend to make him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *nemesak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the *big* signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the *roof seriously disintegrates* to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has